

Message Text

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SAJ-01 ACDA-19 AEC-11 IO-13 OIC-04 OMB-01 DODE-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6063

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

USCINCEUR

USMNR SHAPE

USDOCOSOUTH

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 MADRID 3561

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, NATO, SP

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD BRIEFING TO SPANISH
FOREIGN MINISTRY

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AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD, US PERM REP AT NATO, ON JUNE 16 BRIEFED SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS ON JUNE NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING. BRIEFING WAS CHAIRED BY DIRECTOR GENERAL OF FOREIGN POLICY, JOSE LUIS DE LOS ARCOS. OTHER SPANISH MFA OFFICIALS ATTENDING WERE DEPUTY DIRECTORS-GENERAL FOR EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS, AND DIRECTORS FOR EASTERN EUROPEAN, WESTERN EUROPEAN, AND ATLANTIC AND NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS. AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD WAS ACCOMPANIED AT BRIEFING BY AMBASSADOR RIVERO, MCAULIFFE, DEPUTY CHIEF, US MISSION NATO, AND RABENOLD, EUR/IB COUNTRY DIRECTOR. BRIEFING ITSELF AND ENSUING DISCUSSIONS CONTINUED FOR ALMOST TWO HOURS. AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD COMMENTED AND EXPANDED ON COUNCIL COMMUNIQUE ON SUBJECTS OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS, CSCE, MBFR, AND DEFENSE. HE ALSO DREW ON SECY ROGERS PREVIEW TO COUNCIL ON NIXON- BREZHNEV SUMMIT MEETING. COMMENTING ON COMMUNIQUE, AMBASSADOR SAID THERE HAD BEEN NO DOUBT AMONG NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE' S PARTNERS THAT CURRENT PROGRESS TOWARD BETTER EAST- WEST RELATIONS RESTS ON TWIN FACTS OF NATO' S EXISTENCE AND ITS ADEQUATE MILITARY STRENGHT. WHILE THERE MAY BE A FEELING IN SOME QUARTERS IN EUROPE THAT DEFENSE NOW LESS IMPORTANT, NATO NOW HAS AFFIRMED -- AS HAS PRESIDENT NIXON -- THAT PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE DEPENDS ON MILITARY STRENGTH. DISCUSSIONS OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS, AMBASSADOR NOTED, SHOWED THERE WAS SUBSTANTIAL AND SPECIFIC SUPPORT FOR DIALOGUE BETWEEN US AND EUROPEANS. WHILE FRENCH HAD MADE POINT THAT ALLIANCE ADEQUATE AS IT IS, FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER HAD NEVERTHELESS AGREED TO COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE APPROVING AN EXAMINATION BY ATLANTIC PARTNERS OF THEIR RELATIONSHIPS. RECALLING THAT UK- ICELAND DISPUTE NOT MENTIONED IN THE COMMUNIQUE, AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD REPORTED NORWEGIAN/ DUTCH APPEAL TO UK FOR CONCILIATORY GESTURE AND CONCERN OF OTHER NATO PARTNERS THAT FISHING ISSUE REMAIN SEPARATE FROM BASE ISSUE. AMBASSADOR OUTLINED BRIEFLY MAIN POINTS OF SECRETARY ROGER' S SPEECH, INCLUDING SECRETARY' S RESTATEMENT OF US HOPE FOR IMPROVED COOPERATION BETWEEN THE NATO PARTNERS AND SPAIN. ASSESSING MEETING, AMBASSADOR SAID US EXPECTATIONS

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WERE MORE THAN MET. HE NOTED THAT SECRETARY ROGERS HAD CHARACTERIZED IT AS ONE OF THE BEST MEETINGS IN TERMS OF POSITIVE MOOD THAT EXISTED AND ABSENCE OF ACRIMONY. RESPONSE TO US INITIATIVES ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS, AMBASSADOR CONTINUED, WAS AFFIRMATIVE AND REMARKABLE COOPERATION HAD BEEN SHOWN IN DRAFTING OF COMMUNIQUE. OVERALL THERE WAS STRONG AWARENESS OF CONTINUING NEED FOR

ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY.

AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD THEN DEALT WITH FOLLOWING QUESTIONS
RAISED BY THE SPANISH PARTICIPANTS IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS
PERIOD OF MORE THAN ONE HOUR.

Q. SPAIN, WHICH BELONGS TO EUROPE CULTURALLY AND
GEOGRAPHICALLY, HAS DEFINITE INTEREST IN WHAT HAPPENS WITHIN
THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. IN TRYING TO ADAPT THE ATLANTIC
ALLIANCE TO CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (POINT 3 OF
COMMUNIQUE), WHEN WILL THE FIRST CONTRACTS ON REVISION OF
ATLANTIC RELATIONS TAKE PLACE? WILL THEY BE MULTILATERAL
CONTACTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES ON ONE HAND AND EUROPE
ON THE OTHER OR BILATERAL CONTACTS?
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 MADRID 3561

A. THESE APPROACHES HAVE ALREADY BEGUN IN THE FORM
OF INVITATION TO A DIALOGUE CONVEYED IN RECENT SPEECHES OF
PRESIDENT NIXON, SECRETARY ROGERS, AND DR. KISSINGER. THESE
INVITATIONS HOWEVER HAVE NOT DETAILED SPECIFICALLY WHAT IS
TO BE ACHIEVED OR HOW. THE DIALOGUE WILL EVOLVE IN A WAY
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THAT BEST SUITS CIRCUMSTANCES. IT WILL BE BOTH BILATERAL
AND MULTILATERAL IN A NUMBER OF FORA. WHILE THERE HAS
BEEN SOME CONCERN AMONG SOME ATLANTIC PARTNERS OVER THE
VENUE (BECAUSE SOME SEE THAT NO ONE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION
SUCH AS NATO OR OECD IS ALL- EMBRACING OR COMPETENT TO DEAL
WITH BOTH ECONOMIC AND SECURITY QUESTION), THERE IS
RECOGNITION THAT THE SUBJECT TO BE TREATED IS TOO BROAD
FOR A SINGLE APPROACH OR A SINGLE FORUM.

Q. WILL THESE CONVERSATIONS HAVE AS THEIR PRINCIPAL
FOCUS ECONOMIC MATTERS, MILITARY MATTERS, OR POLITICAL
MATTERS? WILL THEY DEAL WITH SUCH MATTERS AS THE STRUCTURE
OF THE ALLIANCE OR ECONOMIC MATTERS SUCH AS BURDEN SHARING?

A. THERE IS NO PROPOSAL TO CHANGE THE NORTH ATLANTIC
TREATY. THE DIALOGUE SHOULD INVOLVE ECONOMIC, MILITARY AND
POLITICAL QUESTIONS. ESSENTIALLY, WHAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS
BEEN SAYING IS THAT THE CIRCUMSTANCES WITHIN THE ATLANTIC
COMMUNITY HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY CHANGED: THE US NOW HAS
NUCLEAR EQUIVALENCE RATHER THAN NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY WITH
USSR; WHILE ECONOMICALLY STRONG, US NO LONGER DOMINANT.
US PROPOSAL TO EUROPE IS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SET OF
COMMON OBJECTIVES TOWARD WHICH THE US AND ITS FRIENDS
WILL TRY TO MOVE IN THE COMING YEARS. IF PARTIES HAVE
SIMILAR GOALS, ALL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CAN BE MORE EASILY
RESOLVED WITHIN THIS SHARED FRAMEWORK.

Q. TO FURTHER CALRIFY THE PRECEDING QUESTION, WHICH
HAS PRIORITY, THE PROBLEM OF BURDEN SHARING OR THE PROBLEM
OF WESTERN ALLIANCE' S RELATIONS? OR IS ONE DEPENDENT ON
THE OTHER?

A. WORK ON ALL OF THESE PROBLEMS IS ALREADY UNDERWAY.
WE HAVE PUT THEM FORWARD FOR DISCUSSION. THE SOLUTION TO
ANY SPECIFIC PROBLEM NEED NOT WAIT FOR THE SOLUTION TO ALL
OTHERS. BASICALLY US WANTS TO KNOW WHAT ITS PARTNERS
THINK. DO THEY SHARE HOPES OF US, DO THEY HAVE PROBLEMS
THEY WANT TO INJECT? BUT ONE THING IS OVERRIDING:
PRESIDENT NIXON CONVINCED US TROOPS SHOULD REMAIN IN EUROPE
AND NOT BE REDUCED OTHER THAN IN THE CONTEXT OF MBFR. HE

INTENDS TO HOLD THIS POSITION AS LONG AS THE ALLIES
CONTINUE TO DO THEIR PART.

Q. THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE' S STATEMENT (AT THE DPC)
PLEASED SPAIN BECAUSE IT TOOK SPAIN' S EXISTENCE INTO ACCOUNT.
BUT SPAIN STILL NEEDS CLARIFICATION AS TO WHAT IS EXPECTED
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OF IT AND TO WHAT DEGREE. SPAIN' S SATISFACTION WITH THE
US POSITION DOES NOT MEAN THAT IT ACCEPTS A PRIORI JUST
ANY FORMULA FOR PARTICIPATION . THEREFORE, WE MUST HAVE A
CLEARER IDEA OF WHAT YOU EXPECT OF SPAIN.

A. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME
THAT SPAIN' S CONTRIBUTION HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED. FORMER
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE LAIRD AND SECRETARY ROGERS HAVE ALSO
MADE SUCH STATEMENTS, AND I HAVE DISCUSSED SPAIN WITHIN
THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL. WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE
FUTURE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY IT IS NO CLEARER WAHT IS DESIRED
OF SPAIN THAN IS WHAT IS DESIRED OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY. THE
SEARCH FOR MORE SPECIFIC ROLES AND OBJECTIVES MUST BE
BASED ON A FIRM RECOGNITION THAT FAR REACHING CHANGES
HAVE OCCURED.

Q. IS IT YOUR IMPRESSION THAT PUBLIC OPINION IN
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAS BEEN OVERTAKEN BY FUNDAMENTAL
CHANGES IN OUTLOOK ON DEFENSE MATTERS?

A. I DO NOT BELIEVE PUBLIC OPINION HAS BEEN OVERTAKEN
BY CHANGED ATTITUDES OR THAT IT WILL BE. I SEE CONFIDENCE
WITHIN EUROPE TOWARD US, CONFIDENCE THAT I CONSIDER DEMON-
STRATED BY COMMUNIQUE AGREED TO BY 15 MINISTERS OF NATO
COUNTRIES.

Q. WITH REGARD TO POSSIBLE CHANGES IN ATLANTIC RELATIONS
AND NEW FORMULAS, HOW WILL THESE CHANGES AFFECT US- SPANISH
BILATERAL RELATIONS?

A. WE CONSIDER SPAIN IMPORTANT TO US AND WE HAVE
RESTATED REPEATEDLY OUR VIEW OF THIS IMPORTANCE. IT IS
DIFFICULT TO SAY HOW ANY CHANGES THAT MAY RESULT WILL
AFFECT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. AT THIS POINT I AM NOT
CONVINCED THAT THEY WILL BE AFFECTED.

Q. HAS THERE BEEN ANY OFFICIAL RESPONSE FROM THE JAPANESE
GOVERNMENT TO KISSINGER' S ATLANTIC PROPOSALS.

A. WE HAVE RECEIVED NOTHING WE COULD CALL AN
OFFICIAL REACTION FROM THE JAPANESE OR ANYONE ELSE. FROM
OUR REPORTS WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE UNOFFICIAL
JAPANESE REACTION SEEMS TO BE THAT, WHILE THEY ARE NOT
AN ATLANTIC PARTNER, THEY ARE PLEASED TO BE INCLUDED IN
THE DIALOGUE. JAPANESE, LIKE MANY OTHERS, AWARE THAT
ECONOMIC MATTERS CANNOT BE SENSIBLY DISCUSSED WITHOUT
TAKING THEM INTO ACCOUNT. IN SUM, JAPANESE ARE INTERESTED,
THEY ARE DISCUSSING OUR PROPOSALS, BUT ONLY TIME WILL TELL
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WHAT IS THEIR OFFICIAL RESPONSE.

Q. WHAT POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIPS DO YOU FORESEE BETWEEN THE NEW ATLANTIC CHARTER AND FUTURE EAST- WEST RELATIONS?

A. YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT THE TERM " NEW ATLANTIC CHARTER", WHICH WAS ORIGINALLY PROFERRED, IS NO LONGER USED VERY MUCH. SOME COUNTRIES OBJECTED TO IT. " STATEMENT OF GOALS" IS MORE APPROPRIATE. THERE HAS BEEN NO SUGGESTION THAT A DECLARATION OF COMMON GOALS WOULD INCLUDE OF AFFECT EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. THOUGH IS IS POSSIBLE THAT ULTIMATELS SOME REFERENCE MAY BE MADE TO RELATIONS WITH THE EAST.
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 MADRID 3561

(NOTING HERE THAT THE US HAS POSITED VERY GENERAL
IDEAS ABOUT FUTURE OF EUROPE, AND THAT THE ULITMATE
SHAPE OF THE IDEAS DEPENDS ON RESPONSES OF ITS EUROPEAN
FRIENDS, MR. RABENOLD ASKED THE SPANISH WHAT THEY
WOULD LIKE SPAIN' S ROLE TO BE. DIRECTOR GENERAL, SR.
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ARCOS, SAID IT WAS DIFFICULT TO COMMENT ON WHAT ITS ROLE
SHOULD BE WITHOUT KNOWING THE " HOW, WHEN, OR WHERE" OF
THE MODALITIES).

AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD ADDED THAT US PROPOSAL ENVISAGES
NOT AN ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK, BUT RATHER A CONCEPTUAL
FRAMEWORK FOR BEHAVIOR AMONG FRIENDS. SOME COUNTRIES MAY
INSIST THEY LIKE THINGS AS THEY ARE, BUT WE REAFFIRM THAT
CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES REQUIRE THAT SOMETHING BE DONE TO
ENHANCE PROSPECTS OF ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND SECURITY
IN THE CHANGING FUTURE. THOUGH IT MAY SOUND COMPLEX, TO
KNOW FULLY WHAT US WANTS, US MUST KNOW WHAT OTHER COUNTRIES
WANT. AMBASSADOR COMMENTED THAT AMBASSADOR RIVERO IN MADRID
WOULD BE HAPPY TO KEEP SPANISH POSTED ON WHAT IS BEING
DISCUSSED WITHIN THE NORTHATLANTIC COUNCIL ON THE US PROPOSALS.

Q. THE TERM " DIALOGUE BETWEEN FRIENDS" IS APPLICABLE
IN THE CASE OF UNITED STATES AND SPAIN BUT NOT NECESSARILY
SO BETWEEN SPAIN AND SOME OF OTHER NATO ALLIES. BECAUSE OF
UNFRIENDLINESS OF SOME NATO COUNTRIES, SPAIN FEELS SOME
UNCERTAINTY. THOUGH ITS BILATERAL DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS WITH
US, SPAIN IS PARTICIPATING IN WESTERN DEFENSE AND IN
EFFECT AIDING NATO. FOR THIS REASON SPAIN DEPENDS ON US
TO CLARIFY WHAT THE ATLANTIC PROPOSALS MEAN FOR
SPAIN AND WHAT POSSIBILITIES THEY OPEN TO SPAIN.

A. CLARIFICATION OF THE IMPLICATIONS FOR SPAIN OR
ANY OTHER COUNTRY IS DIFFICULT TASK THAT CAN BE ACHIEVED
ONLY THROUGH CONSULTATIONS. WE WILL SHARE WITH SPAIN OUR
IMPRESSIONS FROM OUR OWN BILATERAL CONTACTS, AS SPAIN MAY
WISH TO SHARE ITS IMPRESSIONS WITH US. THERE IS OF COURSE
NO WAY IN WHICH ALL BILATERAL RELATIONS COULD BE MADE
EQUALLY CORDIAL BETWEEN ALL PARTIES. BUT IF WE AGREE ON
THE GENERAL DIRECTIONS OF OUR MOVEMENT, FRIENDS CAN
HELP FRIENDS MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF GREATER CORDIALITY
AND ACCEPTANCE.

Q. WHAT IS THE REACTION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND
EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO THE ATLANTIC PROPOSALS? WHAT
IS THE REACTION OF THE OTHER NON- NATO COUNTRIES OF THE

MEDITERRANEAN, AND COUNTRIES OF THE SOUTH ATLANTIC, NORTH AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA ?

A. I KNOW NOTHING OF ANY REVITION FROM LATIN AMERICANS OR THE NORTH AFRICAN COUNTRIES. WHILE I HAVE NO PERSONAL CONTACT WITH EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, MY IMPRESSION IS
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THAT THEY HAVE BEEN VERY CIRCUMSPECT IN THEIR PUBLIC RESPONSE. THE SOVIET UNION SEEMS TO HAVE COME TO ACCEPT NATO, THE US PRESENCE IN EUROPE, AND THE OVERALL EUROPEAN DEFENSE CAPABILITY AS FACTS OF LIFE. SOVIET RANTINGS OF THE PART HAVE GIVEN WAY TO QUIET. US HAS CONSISTENTLY STRESSED THAT IT WOULD NOT MAKE A DEAL WITH THE SOVIETS AT ALLIES' EXPENSE. BUT IT HAS ALSO STRESSED ITS CONTINUING INTEREST IN EXPLORING AREAS WITH THE SOVIETS WHERE INTERESTS CONVERGE, EVEN THOUGH SUCH CONVERGENCIES MAY NOT BE FREQUENT.

Q. REGARD POINTS 5 AND 6 OF THE COMMUNIQUE, DOES NATO NOW HAVE GUIDELINES CONCERNING THE CONVENING OF THE CONFERENCE, PARTICULARLY ITS SECOND PHASE?

A. ADMITTEDLY THE COMMUNIQUE IS THIN ON THAT SUBJECT. THE ALLIES DECIDED THAT THE FIRST PHASE OF CSCE WOULD OCCUR JULY 3. THEY THEN AGREED THAT, SINCE THEY HAVE ABIDED BY THE KISSINGER- GROMYKO UNDERSTANDING, THEY EXPECT THE SOVIETS TO BEGIN MBFR NOT LATER THAN OCTOBER 30 AS PROMISED. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE BEST WAY TO GET THE SOVIETS TO COMPLY IS TO COMPLY WITH OUR OWN COMMITMENTS. THEREFORE, NATO SAW NO NEED TO DISCUSS WHAT MEMBERS MIGHT DO IF THE SOVIETS FAIL TO COMPLY, AND CONSIDERED IT BEST TO ACT ON ASSUMPTION THAT MBFR WILL BEGIN AS AGREED.

Q. WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PHRASE " WITHOUT ARTIFICIAL TIME LIMITS" IN POINT 5 OF THE COMMUNIQUE?

A. IT IS A RECOGNITION OF THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT HAVE DIFFERENT VIEW ON THE CSCE TIMETABLE SUCH AS THE BELIEF THAT ALL PHASES SHOULD BE COMPLETED VERY SOON. STATEMENT WARNS THAT SUCH ARTIFICIAL TIME LIMITS ARE UNACCEPTABLE. THANKING AMBASSADOR FOR BRIEFING, DIRECTOR- GENERAL SAID THAT THE FUTURE DIRECTION OF ATLANTIC COOPERATION WAS PARTICULARLY UNCLEAR AT THIS STAGE, BUT ADDED THAT THE AMBASSADOR' S COMMENTS HAD ENHANCED SPANISH UNDERSTANDING.
COMMENT:

FOR THE SPANISH, FACT THAT SUCH BRIEFINGS TAKE PLACE REGULARLY IS AS IMPORTANT AS ANY INFORMATION MEETINGS MIGHT CONVEY. WHILE SPANISH CHOSE NOT TO PUBLICIZE AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD' S VISIT, APPARENT THEY FULLY APPRECIATIVE OF INSIGHTS IT PROVIDED AS WELL ITS VALUE AS CLEAR GESTURE OF US SUPPORT
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FOR CLOSER SPANISH INVOLVEMENT WITH NATO. FREQUENCY AND
INTENSITY OF SPANISH QUESTIONING ON ATLANTIC PROPOSALS
SUPPORTED IMPRESSION SPANISH SOMEWHAT TROUBLED BY FEELINGS
OF UNCERTAINTY OVER POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF REVISION OF
ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIPS AND SPAIN' S PLACE IN IT. ALSO APPARENT
FROM THEIR REMARKS THAT THEY WILL BE LOOKING TO US AS A
PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF INFORMATION AS ATLANTIC DIALOGUE GETS
UNDERWAY.
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